

PEACE NEWS

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Anglo-French Alliance will be welcomed

THE best news of the week is that negotiations are now proceeding for a treaty of alliance between France and Britain. Reasonably or not, the average Frenchman is haunted by the fear of German attack. If a firm and open alliance with this country will contribute to giving France a sense of security, as it probably will, it is to be welcomed, even

COMMENTARY

by

John Middleton Murry

though in the atomic age it is an anachronism. But anachronisms have their uses, until the psychology that corresponds to the new realities of power has been created. If the atomic bomb does not persuade France to lighten the burden of its military budget, but a treaty of alliance does, then let us have the alliance.

As a token of the more positive friendship which should unite the two countries—whose spiritual and intellectual need of each other is great—we may welcome it without any reservation at all. The spirit of the alliance may be in accord with the real needs of the age, however much the letter may be obsolete.

Queering the pitch

THE NEW STATESMAN'S expression of its fears (Jan. 18) that M. Blum was given a hint that the British Government would back the French Socialist party only if it did not enter into a grouping with the French Communists seems highly inopportune. If the N.S. has any solid reason to believe that such a condition was made, it should say so plainly: if not, its portentous hints are merely queering the pitch, for they must have the effect of discrediting M. Blum with the French Communists—and Mr. Bevin with the Labour left in this country.

But I am willing to absolve the N.S. from any such evil intention. It conceives it to be its duty to urge, in season and out of season, the necessity of close co-operation between Socialists and Communists all over Europe. The policy is as specious as it is simple. As long as it remains in doubt whether the Communists of Western Europe are committed to maintain the free society, so long is the amalgamation of Socialists and Communists under the slogan of "working-class unity" a snare. Nevertheless, the N.S. lays it down as an axiom:

"British Ministers should stand firmly on the proposition that on the Continent the only hope of avoiding reaction and the emergence of a dangerous clerical Fascist supremacy lies in the retention or the acquisition of power by the working-class."

The axiom is both stupid and dangerous. Britain's one paramount interest is the strengthening of the free society on the Continent, where it is threatened equally by the Right and the Left.

The pseudo Statesman

HOW best to do this is a thorny problem: and certainly the aristocratic personnel of the British Foreign Office are not the instruments that a Labour Government would choose for the job. But much might be done if the principle were clearly enunciated: that Britain stands in

THE NEW MASTER RACE

THERE are also peace-criminals at large in Europe today. That is the conclusion reinforced by the reports and photographs presented in Victor Gollancz's "record of a visit," In Darkest Germany (Gollancz, 8s. 6d.)

Most people who read at all are familiar by now with the facts of the German food situation which Mr. Gollancz has done so much to bring home to this country. Reputable papers like The Manchester Guardian have furthermore left us with no excuse for not knowing about the horrifying living-conditions in Hamburg and other cities of the British Zone—or dying conditions, rather: for fuel only reached German civilians, during the recent icy spell, when they reached the crematorium.

These miseries can partly be explained as the unavoidable results of war, with its legacy of ruined homes, disrupted communications and devastated farms. Even the lunacy of Potsdam was only a translation into practice of the lunacy of "unconditional surrender"—that total lack of principle or policy appropriate to total war.

It is not the vast slum portrayed in Mr. Gollancz's book, therefore, that brings the word "criminal" to one's lips. Terrible, and from a pacifist stand point inexcusable as the destruction of Western Germany has been, it was probably justified by "military expediency," the only standard acknowledged by either side.

What fills one with bitterness and shame is the antics of the occupying army in the midst of this welter of misery. What conceivable expediency, military or political, we may ask, can be held to justify those sumptuous meals in the Officers' Messes (menus printed by Mr. Gollancz will turn even an English housewife green with envy, as the items would certainly turn many, accustomed to the comparatively spartan fare of a British restaurant, green from another cause)? The luxurious Victory Club and the Project upon which five-

sixth of the labour force of ruined Hamburg is employed? The spacious super-heated apartments of the top-rank British officials, surrounded by shelters in which crowded children freeze and starve?

Only those who believe that Hitler was so humane, and the Nazi tyranny so democratic, that the Germans one and all (including, of course the children) were responsible for Hitler's policy, will be ready with a justification for these things. For the rest of us, who have studied the records of Belsen and Dachau, and have some inkling what resistance to the Nazi regime meant, it will not seem exaggerated to suggest that the BAOR is in need of radical de-nazification.

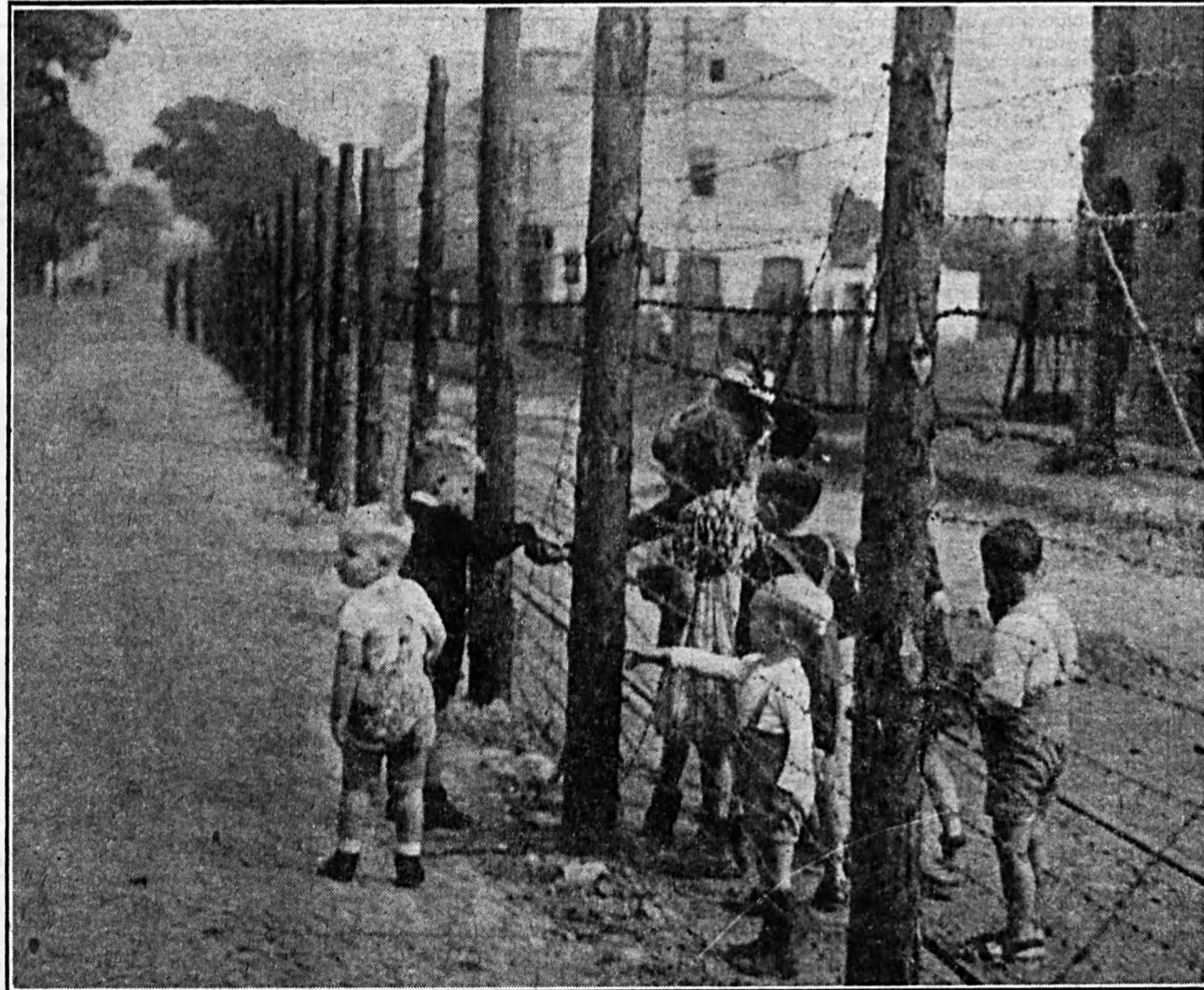
And, if Mr. Gollancz's descriptions are enough to provoke an Englishman to bitterness and shame, what must be the reaction of Germans themselves to the reality?

"The attitude of youth" (Mr. Gollancz writes) "varies from one of a puzzled bewilderment, still friendly to the British—these are in a minority—to bitterness, cynicism and a growing hostility to us and all our works. The mood is not (yet) pro-Nazi; it shows rather a nihilistic contempt for government and governments of every kind. They contrast our promises with our deeds: the BBC told us, they say, that you were coming to liberate us, but what has it all amounted to? I mention democracy; and they ask whether democracy means starvation and lack of the bare necessities, or turning people out of their homes and seizing their furniture, or blowing up shipyards, closing down factories, and throwing tens of

COVENTRY SPIRIT

The children of Coventry, says the Daily Mail, gave up more chocolate and sweets to German children than those of any other town last Christmas.

The children of Kerkrade, half in Holland, half in Germany, ignore the barbed-wire frontier. As this picture shows, those on the Dutch side are giving food to their German friends.



PRICE INCREASE

FROM the beginning of next month Peace News will cost 3d. On the back page readers will find a full explanation of the changes that have made this necessary and which will maintain the value of the paper at its new price.

thousands of men out of employment. I risk a question about Nuremberg; and they say—at the very best—yes, they were guilty, but so are the Allies: look at the expellees, sick, starving and robbed, not thousands of them but millions. Many jeer openly at Nuremberg. I met no single young person who denied the Nazi guilt; but I met very few who thought it in any way special, or different in kind from that of all politicians everywhere.

"The result of it all is," he concludes elsewhere, "that when German liberals talk to German youth about German militarism, the reply is—I've been told it again and again—'But British militarism is just as bad'."

A true reply.

That reply is certainly not surprising. What is more, it seems not to be untrue. It is a pity Mr. Gollancz never discusses it. Democracy, even as we know it, is a thousand times better than Nazism, and he proposes measure after measure for teaching the Germans the truth about British democracy. But can these measures ever succeed, we wonder, as long as the Germans are experiencing year-in and year-out, the truth about British militarism? The citizen of Hamburg may hear about the House of Commons, but what he sees is the Victory Club; and seeing—especially after years of propaganda—is believing.

If Germany is ever to be "re-civilised," the British administration will have to be civilised: in other words de-militarized. A civil administration would seem to be a good thing in both senses of the word. It is not long since there was some talk of a Resident Minister. That would at least be a beginning. Why has the proposal been shelved?

It is not only Germany that needs a civil administration. If the retention of Military Government there is going to mean the retention of military conscription here; if, in other words, the climax of our new educational system is to be the initiation of British youth into this same brass-hatted callousness and conceit, it will not be long before the House of Commons begins to look, even to us, rather like a Victory Club.

PEACE NEWS

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All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

TOLERATING INTOLERANCE

MR. MIDDLETON MURRY'S commentary always makes one think: that, perhaps, is why it is so unpopular in some quarters. We ourselves seldom disagree with him without a feeling, justified by long experience, that he will probably turn out to have been right, and ourselves wrong, in the end.

His observations on the Free Society in last week's PN, however, certainly call for particularly serious discussion (as distinct from impassioned refutation or open-mouthed acceptance), so there is everything to be gained from the expression of a different point of view.

Mr. Murry quoted with approval 'Critic's' exposition of democracy in The New Statesman, pointing out that a democracy is not bound, by any principle, to tolerate sects of parties whose aim is to do away with toleration, and overthrow democracy itself. He went on to indict those renegade liberals who demand, on this ground, the suppression of Fascism, but never Communism, in Great Britain.

With this we are in perfect sympathy. There are few more contemptible spectacles than the intelligentsia condoning all the evils of totalitarianism, so long as they are perpetrated in the name of Progress. We may advocate, as Mr. Oliver does, toleration even of parties professing systematic intolerance; or we may urge the suppression of all such parties: either line is consistent with democratic principle and common honesty; no third line is.

But, when Mr. Murry calls Mr. Oliver's attitude "venial laxity," and proceeds to identify himself with those who demand the suppression of both Fascism and Communism, we demur. It is not merely that suppression is an ugly word, and a still uglier reality—as the emergency regulations of 1940 proved; nor is it that any attempt at suppressing the Communist Party would probably result in a considerable growth of sympathy for its membership, and the formation of a malodorous underground movement. Our objection is more deep-rooted than that.

We believe it is all-important that democrats should avoid such merely negative reactions; that they should always and everywhere retain the initiative, formulate positive objectives and expend all their energy upon attaining these. If they did that, we believe, they would have neither the time nor the excuse for engaging in repressive measures.

The fault of the Weimar Democrats after all, was not that they gave the Nazis and Communists free scope to undermine the Republic, but that they gave them every excuse for undermining it—by their own inertia. Had they acted with courage and determination, initiating even such measures of reform as the Labour Party is undertaking in Britain today, they would have stolen their opponents' thunder; at worst, they would have inspired respect rather than contempt. The right moral in politics, as elsewhere, is surely that old favourite of Mr. Murry's, "Plus values only."

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Unholy complications in THE HOLY LAND

by ROY SHERWOOD

OF all the obstacles to world pacification none has so dark a background as the trouble in Palestine.

Even for its most visible aspects a just solution is an impossibility. Nothing can alter the fact that whatever settlement is arrived at is bound to amount to all history's greatest act of compulsion, to force a small nation to accept partition or a rate of immigration which none of the large powers would tolerate in its own case.

The 20th century crusade in the Holy Land is not a lot better than its middle-age predecessors. Yet, not to commit this act of aggression would leave hundreds of thousands of Jews to certain perdition.

It is probably just because the fundamental facts are so clear and so unpleasant that there have been so many hesitations, changes of policy and other attempts to avoid a final decision. But the outcome has been only further complications.

The larger stream

The pre-war stream of emigrants from Germany has turned into the post-war flood of "displaced persons" whose numbers are larger and whose needs are even more pressing; and since the six years' war depletion of the world's resources, and the realisation that Hitler's removal has not removed the fear of war, the nearness of Palestine to Middle East oil and its strategical value have emerged as formidable additions to the difficulties of settlement.

Until recently more than three-quarters of the world's oil came from the United States and the Caribbean. But now USA experts estimate that in twenty years from now their country will want to import 180 million tons a year for domestic purposes, so much has their consumption grown, while stimulating the desire to husband dwindling reserves.

Russia's output, which was 35 million tons in 1941, has decreased to 25 million—a fact which helps to understand her recent adventure in Azerbaijan, from which she had to withdraw discomfited.

In the light of these needs the world's comparative oil figures become vital. Russia's proven oil reserves amount to 350 million tons; her estimated "probable future discoveries" to another 6,000 million. The corresponding figures for USA are 1,200 million, and 3,000 million. But for the Middle East the proven reserves are 1,500 million tons, and the estimate of "probable future discoveries" is 9,000 million tons, which makes Middle East reserves practically equal to the total of the other two, added together.

Five-sixths control

Under a set of recent high-finance transactions American oil concerns have extended both their concessions and purchasing rights in the Middle East. Too complicated for explanation here, these transactions have resulted in American, British and Dutch companies controlling five-sixths of the world's oil resources even exclusive of America's own.

Most of this oil wealth lies round the Persian Gulf, with pipelines already existing or in contemplation to Palestine and Syria, which takes us back to the problem how both Arabs and Jews are to be kept in mutual friendship, and in friendship towards these oil interests—guardians and defenders, if need be, of the precious pipelines.

The whole recent development is due primarily to President Truman. The oil companies themselves were against it when the idea was first mooted three years ago. But Senator Truman, as he then was, persisted, not solely on commercial grounds. Having in the meantime become President, he brought his pet scheme off in the last week of Dec., 1946. But in the act of scoring his great nationalistic success he let his country in for compulsory participation in the effort to find a solution for the Palestinian trouble. Not long ago PM, which is not very fond of Britain, could write: "Europe, we know, has lost the good will of Asia and Africa, probably irredeem-

LETTERS

Democracy & Dictatorship

I WOULD plead for further consideration of Kingsley Martin's justification of suppressing Parties which "would destroy the liberty which enables them to win power," endorsed by J.M.M.

I should have thought that a virile democracy would never be endangered by the advocates of totalitarianism. Like a healthy person it would be disease-resisting. The danger only arises in times like the present, when an entire social system breaks down and there is lacking either the understanding or the willingness to make the necessary fundamental changes. In such times the so-called democracy is only too prone to suppress the advocates of totalitarian policies, since by so doing it prepares itself for a condition of social and economic breakdown which it instinctively feels is "on the way." In other words, revolution only becomes a menace when reaction approximates to counter-revolution.

Why, for example, is the fear of communism and the tendency to drive communism underground much stronger in the U.S. than in Britain? It is, I think, because American politics offers no alternative to big business government—a fact that is already beginning to weigh upon the mind of thinking America. Whilst there is a theoretical case for Kingsley Martin's argument, is not the exhilarating truth rather than power the right remedy for what, after all, is a disease of the body politic?

WILFRED WELLOCK.

12 Victoria Avenue,
Quinton, Birmingham, 32.

Those Siberian facts

I WOULD like to answer Mr. Cotterell's letter on "Siberian Facts."

The report in the "Wochenpost," signed by a German who has returned from Siberia, only confirms similar reports from many independent sources. The location of the camp is not given but the time of departure from Germany was the end of August and on arrival at their destination the PoWs found deep snow and hard frost.

I, too, know Continental cattle-trucks, and I feel sure that Mr. Cotterell would not suggest that a 31-day journey under the conditions described would be anything but frightful for 100 men per truck.

Mr. C. does not deny "some kind of a tragedy." No doubt he has read that as recently as this month transports of deportees from Poland who had only been travelling for a few days arrived in the British zone as corpses. May I suggest that he studies some of the facts obtainable from the International Red Cross as to present-day conditions in PoW camps in Russia?

I have never found War Office reports anything but factual, and to compare White Papers published in 1919 with articles published today is hardly fair.

If Mr. C. re-reads my article he will notice that I did not state that the ground was frozen to a depth of 5ft. "after 31 days" but that the death occurred "within a few months" of arrival.

Is not the fact that 84 per cent. of a batch of 10,000 returning prisoners examined in the British transit camp at Friedland by a Commission of doctors "were suffering

THE GIFT-PACT

ALTHOUGH by this time we are beginning to forget Christmas and are already absorbed in the great affair of continued existence in 1947 both for ourselves and for the world, we want to share with you the knowledge, before it is too late, of one Christmas gift we have received.

It took the form of a donation to Headquarters' Fund and was the outcome of an unusual idea. Two friends made a pact. They would refrain from giving each other Christmas presents. They then decided to devote the money so saved to some worthy cause instead: and one of them decided that we should be selected as the good cause to benefit by the Christmas gift she had not given. So she sent us £1.

But this is not the end of the story. She wrote us a letter as well which gave us even greater pleasure than the contribution. In sending her gift our friend said: "ALTHOUGH I AM NOT A PACIFIST, I AM MOVING SLOWLY AND PAINSTAKINGLY IN THAT DIRECTION." It is the movement that matters! It may be slow and it must be painstaking. We have never offered ourselves or others an easy way. But make no mistake: this whole world's existence depends now on whether, like our correspondent, it is moving towards pacifism. For as in the last analysis demilitarisation is a spiritual rather than a material process, pacifism is ultimately the only way. So the future of the world depends upon pacifism, and pacifism depends on us.

Let us show ourselves worthy of our cause and of this new comrade who courageously confesses and supports even before she can wholly believe in it—but please don't wait until next Christmas to send your contribution!

MAUD ROWNTREE
CORDER CATCHPOOL
Joint Treasurers.

Contributions to HQ Fund since Jan. 10: £26 10s. 0d. Year's total to date: £29 5s. 7d. Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.I.

ably. We shall presently have the chance of succeeding where others have failed." Now the situation is changed.

Millions of dollars of American capital are closely concerned in a peaceful solution, and behind that capital stand weighty considerations of strategy. Not wanting to be there herself, America has saddled herself with a vested interest in the maintenance of British outposts in the Near East and "reasonable access to what may at any time have to become military bases."

With regard to Britain the facts display once again the difficulty of reconciling an internally socialistic policy with an external one based on power politics; with regard to America they explain the new readiness to help towards a settlement in Palestine; with regard to Russia they show why the Soviets could look on their aggression in Azerbaijan as "purely defensive"; with regard to world peace they are disquieting.

from severe illnesses," including 65 per cent. from starvation, partial paralysis, etc., 30 per cent. from malaria and changes in the bone-structure and blood-composition" (quoted from "Zukunft," published by GHQ, MEF)—sufficient evidence that "some kind of a tragedy" is really a shocking indictment of Soviet inhumanity equalled only by the Nazi treatment of Jews?

KENNETH FARNHAM.

15 Abbotts Way,
Northampton.

Capitalism

I BELIEVE J. M. M. in his commentary of Dec. 27, made the mistake of putting in "a word for Capitalism" when he meant to commend Private Enterprise.

The latter has served and always will serve mankind well, especially for small scale commodity production, where as Capitalism is at root immoral, for it provides incomes to owners, regardless of their services or their needs.

It seems to me that Socialism must displace Capitalism, but as an artist, I would wish to be a private entrepreneur rather than a Civil Servant, although when I was a teacher I was glad to be in a socialised service.

VERNON C. BOYLE.

Santhia, Westward Ho!

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER!

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.I.

PACIFISM IN FRANCE

THE pacifist movement in France has been gravely tested during the war, but it is now recovering, although slowly, owing to the severity of our laws and above all because the people, intoxicated by a Press in thrall to political parties, think more about war than about peace.

At the beginning of the war our pacifist papers, "Patrie Humaine" and "Barrage," ceased to appear. With great courage, Lecoin, author of a pamphlet demanding "Peace Now," obtained the signatures of well-known persons, pacifists and others. At once the government interned Lecoin in a concentration camp at Djelfa in Algeria, whilst a number of signatories retracted in face of the penalties. That is what happens when for propaganda purposes one appeals to "celebrities," for the most part non-pacifist, except for the occasion. This gesture did not stop the war but it had to be made. It recalled a similar gesture made in 1914 by German intellectuals.

The French writer, Giono, known for his pacifist convictions, was asked to draw up a pacifist leaflet for distribution in Germany by air. Giono replied that he would do so on condition that the leaflet was also distributed in France and England. He was then imprisoned and it was the Germans who liberated him.

"Fifth Column" label

From the start of the war the Press gave credence to the idea that the pacifists were part of the fifth column and this was believed by public opinion. During the occupation, a number of sincere pacifists believed that the Germans, having won the war, would adopt a better attitude if we no longer fought them and that an Allied invasion, representing a second phase of the war, would be more murderous than the first. Unhappily we have experienced this as a fact. Fundamentally, this was the pacifist desire to avoid a second and greater bloodshed. This humanitarian attitude became little by little, by force of circumstances, "collaboration" in the public mind. There were certainly collaborators, but chiefly in those parties which upheld patriotism before the war.

Upon the liberation, some pacifists were imprisoned, notably René Jérin, Editor before the war of "Barrage." Jérin, in order to obtain a livelihood during the war had written a literary item for the Press, which had all been taken over by the Germans. Because

he was a pacifist, and as an example Jérin was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. One of our best comrades, Professor F. Challaye, whose sentence had been deferred, has been acquitted, and Jérin has just been pardoned.

All this shows that there is very little tolerance in France for pacifism, and this is above all due to our new super-patriots — the Communists.

With "the purge" finally at an end, military hate is dying down a little, and at last we are again able to affirm our convictions, although the new laws have put a curb upon this. We are thus only able to publish an internal bulletin for sale to subscribers (advertisements showing the title of the paper are not allowed), or to private groups, and not to newsagents or in public.

The French section of the WRI might be likened to a small fruit which grows slowly. We have a difficult task; to regroup old mem-

bers (or at least those who have not changed their ideas), and through propaganda to obtain new members. For this we lack leaders and money. Neither have we permanent premises, and the paper is very small. In spite of that the work goes on wherever possible, and one is far from being discouraged. It needs a good deal of patience, courage and determination to achieve results, which are sometimes scarcely apparent.

The WRI French section is represented by a "Pacifist and Socialist League of Action" directed by Mélo, at Lézigneur (Loire). Mélo is also working for a "Pacifist Esperanto League." There is one other small group of the WRI in the Loire and one in Paris under the direction of Véran who, before the war, was the treasurer of the "League of C.O.s" which no longer exists.

Our section of the WRI stands for absolute pacifism; under no pretext would we uphold any kind of war, revolutionary, atomic, or even anti-fascist. We believe, in general, that true revolutions must first be made by individuals within themselves. Our paper is called "Les Cahiers du Pacifisme."

In France the Quakers and the

Gerard Vidal was sentenced to five years imprisonment by the French Government on the outbreak of war. As he was in the "free zone" in 1940 he was not released, as were some other political prisoners, by the German Occupation authorities. He was, however, taken by them when he remained with an injured friend, after the bombing of Clairvaux had damaged the prison there.

He represented France at the recent reunion of the WRI in Cambridge.

Fellowship of Reconciliation are only small groups. The Quakers met for worship and for their annual assemblies throughout the war. As their pacifism was basically religious, and their number infinitesimal, they were not interfered with, and the Secours Quaker, thanks to Anglo-American support, have been able to do much good and to aid the cause of peace.

Propaganda is difficult here because, due to the groups all being small, the public ignore the possibility of a strong pacifist organisation. Conscientious objection is repressed severely by law and objectors are subjected to years in jail among "common criminals." Nevertheless, we have our adherents, both old and new, and good work is being done.

GERARD VIDAL

"Everyone of us is

by

ALFRED PARKER

LET it be admitted that we English pacifists are apt to become woolly-headed and unpractical by too frequently indulging in our own particular armchair philosophies and fireside politics. Clear thinking in a madly confused world is so much more difficult, and perhaps we fail, at the outset, to fathom the fundamental principles of our individual faith largely owing to our lack of personal experience. But we can always learn something from the experience and sufferings of others.

If you had been privileged to listen to the remarkable story of a German mother who has survived two world wars I am sure you too would have found it equally disturbing and stimulating.

Frau Hoppstock-Huth, of Hamburg, is tall elderly and surprisingly upright. Her eyes reveal something of the dark days after May, 1944, spent

in prison and concentration camps. Fenner Brockway describes her as "one of the outstanding women of the old Germany" known to him by reputation for twenty years as a pacifist and humanist.

I was immediately attracted by her open friendliness. She is an "intellectual" who talks practical politics in almost unfaltering English. One of the first German women to visit this country since the war, she is here on a visit at the special invitation of the Women's International League.

Frau Huth became an active member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom on its formation in 1915. As far back as 1925 the League made application to the German government for the expulsion of Hitler, which would have

guilty"

been easy then as he did not possess German nationality.

When all peace organisations were dissolved in March, 1933, Frau Huth was threatened with a charge of treason and came to this country. In the summer of 1939, however, she decided to return to Hamburg to try and continue her efforts in the cause of international peace—with the prospect of her son being called up.

Eventually he became a driver in the German Army, first on the Russian front and later in the West, until he was reported missing. Not for a year did Frau Huth learn that he had been taken prisoner by the Americans.

Death for a C.O.

Frau Huth also recalled the fate of the son of a doctor friend of hers who was shot for refusing military service. This brought home vividly the full practical significance of pacifism, and I recalled how little English pacifists had been tried.

Frau Huth spoke of her conviction that the greatest evil in Germany today is the Nazi element, which, she says, unless destroyed, will make the building up of a democracy in Germany impossible. She looks to our Labour government for active support and would like to see German trade unionists fully empowered to deal with their Nazis.

"It is difficult for the English people, with the best will in the world," she explained, "to really understand the mentality of these Nazis who still roam about freely and even now are organising systematically."

Frau Huth made no attempt to disguise her bitterness. When I pointed out that this attitude cuts across our common faith in the brotherhood of man, she reaffirmed her viewpoint by emphasising the grave danger of militarism which still persists in Germany.

Her criticism of the occupying powers is significant: "It is a mistake in the long run, to put efficiency before politics." She holds it the express duty of the German people to reserve their criticism for vitally important issues. When news was received in Hamburg, for instance, that the wharves were to be blown up by the military authorities, vigorous protests with threats of strike action were made by all parties. So far the wharves remain intact.

In her election campaign this autumn Frau Huth will tell the ordinary man and woman in Germany about the work of peace organisations in this country. Incidentally, she told me how one German woman was moved to tears recently when she heard of the work of "Save Europe Now" asking repeatedly: "Is it really true?"

IN A STRANGE LAND

by

WILFRED WELLOCK

eagerly looking forward to the result, which already is beginning to surprise me.

However I must warn those who have some thought of undertaking such a tour, that it requires a sound constitution, the sustenance of a deep conviction and the enthusiasm of a pioneer. For everybody assumes that the lecturer's pot is always on the boil, and that its contents are unfailingly potent. Hence he is whizzed from meeting to meeting with unbounded confidence that he will deliver the goods.

After an indifferent night's sleep on the train, he will be met and taken to a startlingly attractive breakfast, and then spirited away to a quiet college for a talk at 10 a.m. or to address a Business Mens' Club at midday, and possibly both.

At the end I was tired out; yet I had put on weight, which after seven years of British austerity could perhaps be understood. Looking back I feel very grateful to the American Friends Service Committee for their cordial invitation to me to tell Americans what was on my soul, and in particular to Roy McCorkel, its secretary, who so devoutly believed that my message had meaning for Americans, and whose letters since assure me that he was not mistaken.

I am sure that many readers would like to know more of the American Friends Service Committee's work.

LAND

Its headquarters are in Philadelphia.

The Committee has a staff of 600, half employed abroad on relief and rehabilitation work. Most of the others are in the extensive offices.

The "home" work consists of collecting the money and the goods, chiefly food and clothing for distribution overseas, also the money for carrying on the extensive educational work of its various committees at home, which include Social and Economic Welfare, and Peace. The Peace Committee has a youth department, with high school and college sections.

A considerable number of these 600 workers are non-Friends, and the larger part of the money collected is from non-Quaker sources. The great majority of the Peace Committee's public meetings are held on non-Quaker premises, with the help of local ad-hoc committees of wide representation.

In this way the Service Committee influences the thinking, and taps the spiritual and financial resources of a very large section of the American public. Its tentacles reach ever wider afield.

A speaker on tour is met on arrival in every new area by the area secretary, who takes him in charge and sees to all the arrangements. He pays special attention to his local contacts, and to the display and sale of literature. I met one secretary who counted himself a failure if he did not sell from £7 to £10 worth of literature at a single meeting, and in addition haul in a collection of £25.

Yes, things move in the U.S. But whither are they moving to-day?

Chamberlain's 1934 war preparations**... AND NOW THE DIARY**

by JOHN SCANLON

MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN has been vindicated by his official biographer, Professor Keith Feiling.* For years he had been under the stigma that he was prepared to work for peace—even to the extent of appeasing Germany.

The critics were wrong. They had to rely for their judgment on public speeches. The author has had access to Mr. Chamberlain's private letters and his personal diary.

These reveal the true policy. The public speeches were necessary to safeguard the underlying policy. As early as June, 1934, Mr. Chamberlain records in his diary:

"The fons et origo of all our European troubles and anxieties is Germany. If that fact be constantly present to the consciousness of our negotiators, they will not be too stiff with France, or too insistent upon her discarding weapons which she may think essential for her safety."

Mr. Chamberlain does not explain why he regarded Germany as the enemy in 1934. All his anxiety at this period seems to lie in the fact that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who was Prime Minister, and Sir John Simon had not yet fully grasped that France was no longer the enemy—that Germany had taken her place. They were still offering Germany equality of arms with France.

Italy—a needed ally

It was an anxious time for Mr. Chamberlain. Sir John Simon was weak, Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Baldwin were tired. When someone suggested Mr. Eden as successor to Sir John Simon, Mr. Chamberlain demurred. Moreover, when Mr. Eden took his own line over Abyssinia, Mr. Chamberlain's fears were justified. Mr. Chamberlain was counting on Italy as an ally against Germany.

Nor was Mr. Chamberlain neglectful of Russia's position in the scheme of things. Professor Feiling tells us that when Hitler invited Simon to Germany, Mr. Chamberlain, "as a riposte to Hitler," suggested that Mr. Eden should go to Moscow. In the interval, of course, M. Barthou of France had visited London and had warned the Cabinet that if we did not do something about Russia she

might make an alliance with Germany. Mr. Eden went to Moscow. Russia entered the League, and became a "peace-loving nation." Mr. Chamberlain, too, was anxious to have Japan with us for peace, but as it happened Japan had forced a hard bargain on our cotton-growing investments in India and was also flooding our markets with cheap goods. Mr. Runciman was forcing the pace and trying to get Japan to accept a quota system, and Japan was being difficult.

But overshadowing all this was the knowledge that we had to strengthen our defences against Germany. On his defence proposals Mr. Chamberlain writes in his diary on June 6, 1934:

"... this all works out as the result of the proposition that we cannot provide simultaneously for hostilities with Japan and Germany, and that the latter is the problem to which we must now address ourselves. ... I have also been urging that we should make a unilateral declaration that the integrity of the Low Countries is a vital interest to us."

Getting ready to fight

Thus it will be seen that, far from appeasing Germany, Mr. Chamberlain knew that Germany was the enemy and was getting ready to fight at a time when Mr. Attlee and the Labour Party were fiercely opposing the rearmament programme. But this statesmanlike vision was seen not only in a form of collective security on the grand scale. By July, 1934, Mr. Chamberlain had even thought out the details. The diary tells us:

"In the absence of security other nations won't give up aircraft or bombing, and we shall be more likely to deter Germany from mad-dogging if we have an air force which, in case of need, could bomb the Ruhr from Belgium."

The diary does not tell us whether Belgium was anxious to assume the role now being allotted to Britain for the next war—namely an aerodrome for one side which will attract the bombs and the armies of the other. The extract shows, however, that when Mr. Fred Montague asked in 1938 whether the bombers we were building could carry bombs to Berlin, he was actually behind the times, even though he had been an Under-

Secretary for Air in the Labour Government.

Labour wronged Mr. Chamberlain first in saying his rearmament was making war inevitable, and second, because he would not go to war to destroy fascism. Yet we can see, when emotion displaced thought, how easy it was to fall into the error of saying Mr. Chamberlain was a fascist. The Labour Party thought it was to be a war against fascism, as in 1933 Russia had made fascism the issue. The fact that Mr. Chamberlain was willing to use fascist Italy and fascist Japan to fight Germany shows that Mr. Chamberlain had other ideas. After all, he was the boss. He decided when we should go war.

When that time came, Mr. Chamberlain could say that it was all due to "one man." He had apparently forgotten that already in 1934 he had taken it for granted that war with Germany was inevitable. He justified the declaration of war by attributing it to Hitler's actions in the past two years.

Prof. Feiling has certainly vindicated Mr. Chamberlain of all charges of appeasing. What he does not explain is:

Unexplained

(1). Why did Mr. Baldwin protest against French rearmament in 1931?

(2). Why did Mr. Chamberlain's Government offer Germany equality in arms in 1932?

(3). Why did Sir John Simon stick to this doctrine until well into 1934?

(4). What had Hitler done in 1934 to make Mr. Chamberlain decide we must be kinder to France and less kind to Germany?

Above all, why should Mr. Chamberlain wish fascist Japan and Italy as allies in the war for Democracy against Fascism?

We may never know the answers. Vital documents are destroyed—the vanquished leaders are safely hanged.

Yet I prophesy that in a few years intelligent people in Britain will be saying that this last war was not only a crime—it was a blunder.

**Life of Neville Chamberlain*, by Keith Feiling. MacMillan, 25s.

Generalisations

IT seems to be the function of a General to generalise men, and of a Pacifist to personalise them, in discussions of policy. We see something other than "Germany" when the Potsdam Pact is mentioned; we see men who are desperate, and women who are despairing, and children who are simply starving.

We believe that in this personalising of situations is not only the essence of the Law and the Prophets, to "do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you," but the "real politik" of any true civilisation in the future. Nicolas Berdyaev, the refugee philosopher, sees the

by

George Li. Davies

basic tension of our European society in the emphasis on the liberty of the individual, which so often grew into egotism and capitalism of the grosser kind, and Socialism of the mass, which, resenting the great inequalities of wealth and privilege, would fain level them down by compulsions; but the Christian category—says Berdyaev—is neither individualism nor Socialism, but personalism—seeing every man first as a person, and acting as a person towards him.

In the world at large today, we see the grossest inequalities in both liberty, equality and frugality; for all our talk of "austerity" at home, thousands of tons of turkeys are promised for Christmas while millions of Germans do not attain the 1,500 calories standard, and see their factories being dismantled while their homes are in ruins. Their desperation is the opportunity for new desperadoes.

Our own generalisations, however explicit, should stand the acid test of personalising "What would you do if you had Ernest Bevin's job?" Being in a minority of one per thousand of the population it seems unlikely that we shall have his job, but one never knows.

George Lansbury's mistake

When George Lansbury resigned the leadership of the Labour Party, he confessed that it had been a mistake for him to take office in a non-pacifist government. His eighty ILP colleagues who got into Parliament after the last war did not seem to have affected the situation profoundly; and the present pacifist MPs find more fallow ground out of the House than in it.

To us, of the rank and file of pacifism, if we may not be "wholesalers" of Peace we may still be "retailers." I think of a dozen experiments in peace-making and of pacifist service—in the study of difficult families, in the treatment of delinquents, in bringing comradeship and community into farming, in getting the workers of 100 shops into real friendship, in living among thousands of coloured folk in the docks of a large city, in achieving a hilarious friendship in one school. It is from such crucible experiments that the scientist gets his results; it is from absence of such ventures that all the dogmas of the Church fail to impress.

The most vital reforms in housing, in the treatment of crime, in the humanisation of education, in the civilisation of savages, have been pioneered by quite small groups of dedicated persons who acted while others argued. The greatest need of our times is to see that such reconciled persons and groups are a possibility in which heart and mind and will "accordingly well may make one music as before."

If Peace cannot be proclaimed through a brass band, an orchestra is still possible, but probably folk songs are best of all, and last longer in the memory of the race. A Cockney coiner exclaimed to a Quaker friend of mine in prison: "They all complain that the country's short of money, and when you makes 'em a bit they locks you up." The benediction of Christ was not for the pacifist but for the peacemaker. It has taken some of us a long time to learn the difference.

THEY CANNOT WAVE A FLAGby
OWLGLASS

BREATHES here a man with a soul so dead who never to himself hath said, and so on? I can't say, but according to a recent report of UNRRA there are still over 800,000 people without a country whose souls are therefore dead enough for them to themselves to have said "which is my own native land? Ask me another."

Having been brought up in the faith—No Native Land, No Soul—I am concerned about the spiritual condition of these people.

Many of them are not simply parted from their country, but don't know which their country is.

A man can be born in Germany and return after absence to find himself in Russia. This forces him to the intolerable admission that his birthplace is no longer in his native land, and that logically speaking he was born in two places and is therefore two persons or nobody at all.

Of course, you say that isn't so bad as it sounds and perhaps they aren't all logical. You may say there always is a country, even if it changed its name overnight without consulting you.

But what of those who, having a country and even knowing which one it is, daren't go back, in case they are arrested for finishing the war in the same army they were conscripted into, or beaten up for having opinions which were democratic when they left but are now officially labelled fascistic?

Take the case of my friend Yak Pravitz. I first met him in Bolitzia, the day before it became Magya-Carpathia. He said he was a Croat, as he was born of a Rou-

elian mother to a Serbian father in the Albanian town of Kelt, afterwards Botl, and after that blown up by the army of liberation.

So in 1915 he was naturally conscripted into the Rumanian army. But his country changed hands so often that in two years he fought in five different armies under nine different flags as, slowly and surely, democracy triumphed and a new and nobler Europe sprang, phoenix-like, from the ashes of the old.

Europe being freed, he set out for his home in Montenegro, only to find it was now Jugo-Slavia, and having only a Turkish passport and a Lithuanian sugar-card he wasn't allowed in. Wandering then through Azerberabia he slipped on a banana skin and was arrested for giving the Communist salute. But during the next fortnight the government changed four times and his offence was forgotten, so he got a job in the police force as soon as he'd learned the language.

So far, so good. He'd still got a country. I met him in 1935 and he said he was absolutely certain he was a Czech. But when the next war started he hadn't been reading the papers for some days and was surprised to find himself in the Polish Army.

Well he didn't mind that. He was keen to defend democracy from the Nazi menace. But when he got home last year from a prison camp, just in time to march triumphantly to the polls for the first election under a liberated democracy, he was hit on the head with a black-

jack to prevent him from voting for the opposition.

So he stowed away in a ship and landed in England just in time to be told he wasn't allowed to help the country of his adoption to raise its coal output, so he'd better go home.

Now the least we can do to compensate these people is to give them free choice of whatever country they like and let them start again with a clean slate.

There ought to be a bureau of some sort where a man can go and choose one—

"I want a country, please."

"Certainly sir. What kind of country were you thinking of?"

"Well, what countries have you?"

The clerk will then hand him a list of the various countries, and if he can't make up his mind on the spot he can take away a bundle of printed matter explaining the general conditions, forms of government, etc., together with the salient points of their history and an outline of their national character, traditions and aspirations, with, when obtainable, a photo of the statue of their national soul.

And he can spend the evening deciding whether to belong to a great and powerful Empire with an export drive, or a third-rate undefended country with no slums.

But one contingency remains to be allowed for. Suppose, after reading all about the nations, he feels a little sick and says he'd rather have a nice cup of tea.

Shall we allow him to go on belonging to no country?

The position of the conscientious objector to nationhood has yet to be defined.

A brilliant and exacting play

BUSINESS MORALITY WITH THE LID OFF

MMR. PRIESTLEY has written a play ("An Inspector Calls," New Theatre) which is far more than merely clever entertainment and well-handled drama. He burns with a social zeal which can still inflame us even when we have perceived that the rough homespun "decency and down-rightness" which he so movingly advocates is insufficient to cure the sickness of our times.

To suggest however that the origin of the ills with which he deals lies at a deeper level than that at which this play proceeds, is perhaps ungrateful when one has so much appreciated his exposition of the hollowness and inhumaneness of a society underpinned by money. Here is business morality with the lid off. The bourgeois social-climbers, the ambition addicts, the power and drink-spoiled sons — Mr. Priestley holds them up individually before us, like dead rats held out by the tail for our inspection and says, "See what nasty creatures we are. We are in a mess. We must do better than this." And as we in the audience see our social sins and their cruel consequences revealed, we do indeed feel that we must do better.

Or, I wonder, do we? Does the West-end stage make any real impression on the sleek and well-found inhabitants of the stalls? Is even such a play as this only amusement and entertainment to them? I looked at my companions, enthusiastically but discreetly applauding the witty and caustic exposé of a social set-up of which they still manage to nibble the chocolate biscuits and wondered. Was I the only one who felt "I am that Satan?"

The Old Vic Company's acting is so good as to be unobtrusive, although I wonder if I am alone in thinking — almost a heresy — that Sir Ralph Richardson's reading of his central part as the Inspector is a little too whimsical and mannered?

P.T.G.

British Centre for Colonial Freedom

The above is the new name given to the British Centre Against Imperialism. The change has been made by the General Council in response to representations from our colonial friends themselves: it is felt to express more exactly the nature of their aspirations.

The Centre, to which the PPU is affiliated, is in great need of support. Copies of an appeal can be sent to persons interested. Donations should be posted to the Treasurer, BCCF, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

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TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS, &c.

BLACKHEATH. Dick Sheppard Centre, 146 Blackheath Hill, S.E.10. Wed., Jan. 29, 8 p.m.: "PPU and Peace News," Sybil Morrison, Blackheath PPU Group.

CHELSEA. Hall of Remembrance, Flood St. (near Chelsea Town Hall), Fri., Jan. 31, 7.30 p.m.: "I.V.S.P." Speaker: Albert Tomlinson. Chairman: Dr. A. K. Jameson, Chelsea PPU Group.

EALING. New Cuckoo School, Greenford Ave. (55, 97 and 211 buses pass door). Fri., Jan. 31, 7.45 p.m.: "No Conscription in the Peace!" James H. Hudson, MP, Rev. Leslie Jollie and Councillor F. E. Tomlinson.

LONDON, W.C.1. 8 Endsleigh Gardens. Discussion lectures every Sun., 7.30 p.m. Jan. 26: "The Futility of the Labour Movement." Ian Gourley, Feb. 2: "The Revolutionary Ideas of the Marquis de Sade." London Anarchist Group.

BOURNEMOUTH. Friends' Meeting House, Sun., Jan. 26, 6 p.m.: "Pacifism in the Post-War World," Frank A. Lea.

THE North London Players aspired to new heights last week in presenting Jean Cocteau's version of the Oedipus story, "The Infernal Machine."

This is a brilliant and exacting play — exacting from both actors and audience. For this reason any amateur performance is almost certain to fall short, in comprehension no less than interpretation, and the North London Players are to be congratulated on their excellent attempt.

Leslie Pitt's production was admirable, as were the setting, costumes and ingenuity of effects. He conveyed authentically the colloquial realism of Cocteau's scaled down classical figures. One must mention specially the soldiers in Act I, with particular praise for Joseph Agassi.

But the conflict is not merely between man and man, but between men and the gods, to whom all are victims in their "infernal machine," as so many noughts to be wiped off a slate. However far we fly, we cannot escape the implacable Nemesis. The protagonists must therefore be a little more and a little less than human; they may be kings and queens, but they must always be puppets. It is this conviction that was not always sustained by the players.

Roy Walker was wholly successful in conveying that sense of fatality without which the sublime hovers perilously near the ridiculous. As Tiresius, the soothsayer, his performance was perfectly balanced in its power and restraint. Jocasta, the tragic queen who sinned and paid the price of self-deception, was played by Janet Parrish with subtlety and understanding over a wide emotional range, but with perhaps a too complete identification with the personality, at the expense of the symbolism of the character.

The Oedipus of Howard Kent was compelling in the hour of triumph, and also in moving contrast as the broken victim of fate, blinded by his own arrogance. He was, if anything too human. A sense of inner compulsion seemed necessary to co-ordinate his deeds with his destiny. In the fateful meeting with the Sphinx he did, however, achieve a poetic rhythm of word and action.

The Sphinx is a difficult part to play and Mollie Simmonds worked hard to sustain the atmosphere of mystery. Her voice was skilfully controlled, but the whole personality was rather lacking in forcefulness. That Anubis, God of the Dead, smacked of the pantomime rather than the underworld, was not the fault of Geoffrey Hallett, who managed to be an admirably audible were-wolf.

The minor parts were all adequately played, and the production afforded an experience well worth all the hard work, on and off stage, which went to its making.

M.T.

The play is being repeated at Stoke Newington Assembly Hall, N.16, on Tuesday, Jan. 28, at 7.45 p.m.

ACCOMMODATION

TWO FURNISHED rooms — free Easter. Lady, keen country life conditions; exchange; keep bungalow clean, light work; share one only. Box 626.

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AUSTRIAN & GERMAN WAR RESISTERS

THE War Resisters' International is glad to announce that the W.R.I. Section in Austria (Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner) has received the permission of the Occupation Authorities to function as an Organisation. A general meeting is being organised this month, at which plans for future work will be made.

So far the efforts of our Austrian friends have been directed towards contacting all the old members of the Movement and they have already got together a considerable membership and are distributing W.R.I. literature on a fairly large scale. They are alarmed to learn that Austria is endeavouring to obtain permission to have an army of her own again, and see a most important task in opposing this proposition.

W.R.I. Sections are being formed in many parts of Germany. Already three local groups have been affiliated and several other applications for direct affiliation to the International are likely soon. The International has already made contact with nearly 500 German war resisters and is in direct touch with them all. The Internationals' first post war pamphlet in German entitled "Der Kriegsdienstgegner" (The War Resister), has been distributed in many thousands of copies. The International feels obliged to accept affiliation from local German groups for the time being. It is intended that later on these groups will amalgamate and form one German War Resisters' Movement.

FOOD RELIEF

Liverpool's well-known Coopers Stores in Church Street, is acting as a depot for the collection of rationed food, chocolate and soap, for European relief.

Volunteers who will give an evening to help in the packing of food parcels should get in touch with Mrs. M. A. Harland, 18 Ireton Street, Liverpool, 4.

American Christians are planning to send 1,000 food packages to the Japanese Christian leader, Toyohiko Kagawa, for distribution in Japan. According to Brig.-Gen. Bonner Fellowes, back from Japan, Kagawa is free to move throughout the country and is reported to be converting 50 persons to Christianity every day. —Worldover Press.

Words of Peace - No. 204

WHAT I MUST DO

"What I must do is all that concerns me, not what the world thinks . . . It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion, it is easy in solitude to live after your own, but the great man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude."

—R. W. Emerson.

LIVING BY SCIENCE

"Living by science requires intelligence and faith, but not to live by it is folly."

—George Santayana.

THERE may be lessons for the peacemaker in a study of the right application of science to problems of industry, education and international affairs. The Social Science Association exists to educate public opinion along these lines.

Speaking on Jan. 13, Dr. J. P. Laurie, chemist and scientific editor, quoted Santayana in his plea for science as a "way of thinking, an attitude of mind." It was not a material thing.

He pointed out the value of scientific research, which is essentially a matter of teamwork. The growth of knowledge has made it impossible for any man to master completely even one branch of science — a biochemist, for instance, cannot also be a physical chemist — nor could he operate the complex apparatus required. Co-operation on an international scale was successful in the field of atomic energy, and should be applied for constructive ends.

Striking advances have been made in the medical sciences, but results are often stifled to make profits for industry. Public apathy is partly to blame, in not demanding supervision of money used for research. Meanwhile, cancer still kills on an average 29 out of every 100 of our population, and last year 80,000 people died of tuberculosis. We have the knowledge and the skill, but not the organisation, to conquer these scourges.

The obvious body to undertake this task is UNESCO, who should administer an international fund to finance research. "UNESCO," said Dr. Laurie, "is a last chance for humanity. We cannot afford to have it fail."

The Association welcomes all interested visitors. The next meeting will be at the Caxton Hall on Mar. 5, at 7.30 p.m., when it is hoped to obtain a speaker from the Scientific Film Society. Enquiries should be addressed to the Secretary at 3, Rathbone Street, W.1.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

Our adverts, in PN, which cost us 45s., brought us orders totalling £1,500. That's why you haven't heard from us lately, but we must break into print to wish you a Happy New Year.

Les Allen, Fred Dukes, Jack Harrington, Reg Harvey, Reg McReynolds, Reg Nicholls, Stanley Page, Gilbert Rigg.

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Lake District. Applications stating

experience to Isabel James, Beck

Allans, Grasmere.

Will the Powers abolish war?

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

the world in general and in Europe in particular not for working-class supremacy, but for the free (which is the peaceful) society.

This constant effort to twist and pervert the meaning of the Labour victory and the mandate of the Labour Government in this country into something which it is not by an organ so influential as the N.S. is deplorable. Because it is highly insidious, I make no apology for returning to it. If the Labour Government were to capitulate to the specious ideology of the New Statesman, it would be a disaster. We must thank our stars that none of the key-ministers of the Labour Government is a new statesman.

Arms - the test

THE struggle over the German treaty is near at hand. As that takes shape — the struggle, not the treaty — we shall see more clearly whether the Russian proposals for disarmament were seriously meant. For if Russia persists in her claim to ten billion dollars of reparations from Germany, in the condition to which she is now reduced, disarmament is a foolish fantasy.

The powers cannot combine for long for the purpose of strangling the German people, even if it is a necessary stage in the progress towards the Communist millennium. The problem is to produce a treaty for Germany which any conceivable German government will be able to accept. If such a treaty can be evolved, then other desirable things will probably follow: if not, the atom-bombs will not be long in dropping.

Meanwhile we note that on Jan. 13 it was officially announced in Washington that "the United States would stand by the Baruch proposals and refuse to let any power violating an atomic treaty enjoy the protection of the Big Power Veto." (Manchester Guardian, Jan. 14).

The fundamental issue

NO doubt the ideal solution is that suggested by the Economist (Jan. 18). Instead of Russia making the impossible demand for reparations from Germany, USA should grant Russia a dollar-loan for half the amount, in return for political concessions, of which the chief is that the United Nations should be made an effective body, by a proper limitation of the Veto. But, as the Economist hastens to admit, it is wildly Utopian.

"In the present state of Russian suspicion, in the present temper of Congress, in present British confusion and French weakness, has any policy which proceeds from rational principles to logical conclusions a hope of securing the statesman's ear?"

Not much. The best we can hope for is a clarification of the issue during the coming months. The fundamental issue is simple enough, I believe. It is whether or not it is possible for the great powers to combine to abolish war. If they can, the German and every other problem will be solved. If not, it and every other insoluble problem combine to confuse the real purpose of the next war: which will be to compel the nation which refuses to abolish war.

Economic realities

THE transport strike, now happily ended, was from the point of view of the strikers, reasonable enough. They wanted a 44-hour week, a fortnight's holiday with pay, which workers in other industries have secured; and they felt that their union officials were culpably slow, if not half-hearted, in getting them. Their strike was natural enough. On the other hand, it is true that if their example is followed—and that also will be reasonable and natural—the total effect will be disastrous to the national economy.

As soon as the Labour Government took office, I pointed out, with tedious

iteration, that the success of the experiment in democratic socialism to which it was committed would depend on Labour's capacity for self-discipline; and I emphasised that the most urgent duty of the new government was to educate the workers into the economic realities of the situation. If the Soviet Government, with all its powers of compulsion, finds it necessary to spend so much energy in propaganda among the Russian workers, how much more necessary is it in a society in which labour-compulsion is quite rightly, ruled out of court, while by the policy of full employment the indirect compulsion of unemployment is equally taboo.

Standards in peril

STILL, I think the Labour Government has failed rather badly in this very vital matter of educating the labour movement into a sense of its new responsibilities. And one of the chief reasons, I suspect, is that a good many members of the Government itself were unaware of the need. Certainly, the TUC has had obvious difficulty in adjusting its mentality to the new situation, and it is even now only at the beginning of the process.

Yet the facts are adamant. The standard of living in this country, disappointing enough in comparison with the general expectation, is being maintained at its present level by the American loan. "Nearly half of the Government's present expenditure of dollars is on food," (Economist, Jan. 18). It follows, inexorably, that unless the productivity of the country can be quickly and considerably increased the standard of living in Britain will seriously decline even from its present level. What the effect on the position of the Labour Government would be if, five years after the war, the standard of living was perceptibly lower than it was in the last year of the war itself, I leave to conjecture.

The "Working Party"

FOR the Labour Government to deal with this situation requires what is practically a mental revolution in the Labour movement: a reversal of the ideas it has cherished and the propaganda with which it has sought popularity. Roughly, that all the workers needed to do was to organise, industrially and politically and squeeze the bosses out of existence. Unless that notion is radically changed, they will discover that they are engaged in squeezing themselves out of existence as well.

Sir Stafford Cripps, whose "working party" represents the chief positive contribution to the co-operative commonwealth which is the real aim of socialism in free society, has been getting into trouble with the Bristol Trades Council for expressing his scepticism of "workers' control." Yet he is perfectly right. The responsible co-operation of the workers is the right aim, workers' control the wrong one.

A functional harmony in industry, based on continuous consultation with the workers, but with technical control in the hands of the management, and an over-all control of profits by taxation, must be the normal under democratic socialism. Freedom of movement, by means of universal education, from one function to another, is the aim. The denial of a difference of function is obscurantism, and will paralyse instead of liberating society.

Ten Years Ago

Peace News, Jan. 23, 1937

You have, no doubt, seen a copy of the "new" Radio Times, published last Friday, with its new lay-out, etc.

Have you noticed the omission of the words from the title-page—"Nation shall speak peace unto nation?"

—From a letter headed: "Has the BBC given up hope?"

* * *

A record low figure of men aged twenty suitable for military service will be reached in Great Britain this year.

The German "Army Year Book for 1937 states that Germany by 1950

MILITARY DETENTION FOR C.O.

U.S. Amnesty delay

LAST week we reported the setting up of a three-man Amnesty Board to consider the problem of American C.O.s in prison and on parole. Here is an exclusive comment (by courtesy of the CBCO) from Albon Man, Secretary of the U.S. Committee for Amnesty:

"The Chairman of the Amnesty Board is Justice Owen J. Roberts, a former Judge of the Supreme Court and believed to be personally sympathetic to the amnesty effort. So far as we are aware, the other two members are unfamiliar with the subject of conscientious objection, though not known to be hostile. The Board has not yet met to formulate policy. When their appointment was announced, we wired the members immediately, expressing a desire to present information and policy suggestions to them."

"The delay in the Board's meeting bodes ill. We fear that the administration may regard it as a means of allaying amnesty pressure while doing nothing, though we do not for one moment believe Justice Roberts would be party to such a project. Perhaps the White House and Department of Justice think that through the Amnesty Board they can 'stall' about amnesty until the Selective Service Act expires on March 31, or until Congress in the interim decides on the issue of permanent peace-time conscription."

"It is generally felt that a Republican Congress will not adopt permanent conscription—in the absence, that is, of any acute deterioration in relations with the USSR."

Threepenny - Piece News

TO serve the cause of peace effectively and to make this service more persuasive and farther reaching, Peace News needs Liberty, the precious liberty of the press, and the almost equally essential liberty from recurrent financial crises.

Readers will share our concern that during the past three years it has been necessary to withdraw £3,000 from the Peace News Fund to balance otherwise impossible budgets.

But we can now look ahead more optimistically. The increase in size, new contributors, a resumption of overseas reporters, regular book reviews and other new features give us grounds for confidence that the paper will regain and surpass the wide readership it has enjoyed in the past. We believe our regular readers value Peace News and will welcome an equal sharing of its production costs, instead of the present unhealthy dependence on fast diminishing reserves which were donated for more positive purposes.

By increasing the price to 3d., and maintaining circulation at the present level we shall solve our financial problems for 1947. So that from the issue of February 7, a threepenny-piece will purchase your copy, and those who have subscribed in advance will be asked to approve a one quarter reduction in their period of supply.

As the present newsprint restrictions and our financial hindrances are lessened we intend making many further improvements to the paper. In the meantime, every possible economy has been made in the office. We feel sure we may count on your loyalty and sustained support in restoring the paper to a sound basis, so that the critical times ahead will find Peace News taking an ever larger part in the building up of a peaceful society and world.

AN ILP political objector, court-martialled for "desertion," was sentenced to two years military detention at Stourport on Jan. 8.

He was Harry J. Harrison, who had been registered for non-combatant duties, and had ignored his call-up for over five years.

This is the second time in over two years that a C.O. has been given military detention, a sentence widely recognised as inappropriate to C.O.s. Imprisonment for three months or more gives the right to a further Tribunal hearing, but no sentence of detention, however long, has this effect.

At the court-martial Harry Harrison was closely questioned as to his conscientious objection, even though he had already been registered by the Tribunals for non-combatant duties. The question of a C.O.'s sincerity is a matter for the Tribunal.

On Oct. 10 last, Harrison had written to the War Minister saying that his abnormal position within society was becoming repugnant to him, and his overwhelming desire was to become a normal citizen making a useful contribution to society. He asked for advice as to his position. In reply the Minister's private secretary wrote that Harrison must be regarded as a non-reporter and his only course was to surrender to the police or nearest unit.

Accordingly, on Nov. 18, he surrendered.

When the sentence was known the Central Board sent a solicitor to Stourport to investigate the facts, and as soon as he had reported urgent representations were made to the War Office for Harrison's sentence to be quashed.

On Jan. 15 Harrison telephoned from Paddington Station to Fenner Brockway, CBCO Chairman, that he was then being transferred to Fort Darland Detention Barracks, Gillingham, Kent.

He was handcuffed to an officer and to another prisoner.

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